1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
AE 175 648
EA 628 175 648

migrants increased, so did their fishing areas and this clashed with the vested hunting and fishing rights of the natives. It also seems that, at first, owing to inferiority in numbers and power, the immigrants tried to avoid conflict with the natives, but as the immigrant activities increased collisions became inevitable.

The first clash is reported as occurring in 1456 when a blacksmith of Kajimura (the present Hakodate) got into an argument with an Ezo chieftain and killed him. In revenge the aroused natives massacred the immigrants. In the following year a chieftain, by name Koshamain, attempted to assault Fukuyama. The natives were so powerful that settlement after settlement fell into their hands. The immigrants were driven out of all their bases and those who escaped from the slaughter assembled at Matsumae and Kaminokuni and, with the aid of Takeda Nobuhiro, the founder of Kakizaki power, were just able to retain a foothold. This is the turning point when the relations between immigrants and natives became serious. The record shows other incidents such as those in 1471 and 1501. During these incidents Japanese forts were either lost or damaged and the only base able to stand against the natives was that of the Kakizaki. Gradually the Kakizaki unified the Japanese on Hokkaidō and grew into the dominant power on the island. In 1514 the Kakizaki after moving into Fukuyama were entrusted by the Andō with the management of Ezo affairs which, in effect, made them the real power on the island. With this power Kakizaki made a concerted effort to suppress the natives. However, disputes continued, occurring in 1515, 1525, 1529, 1531, and 1536, the natives remaining powerful and the mainlanders, who were on the defensive, resorting to such tactics as feigning peace and then striking by surprise.[11] But the Japanese eventually emerged as victors.

The Kakizaki were finally able to secure a sizeable area around their base of Fukuyama and, perceiving the disadvantage of continuous fighting, changed their policy to one of reconciliation and, in 1550, Suehiro, grandson of Nobuhiro, made peace with the various native tribes by offering them treasures which they cherished and thus won their favor. Suehiro appointed Hashitain from Setanai as chief of west Ezo, stationing him at Amanogawa in Kaminokuni, and Chikomotain from Shiriuchi was appointed chief of east Ezo. To both chiefs were distributed the tax levied on the merchants who came into the country. Rules were also established concerning the navigation of merchant vessels in Ezo waters. In order to show respect to these chiefs, merchant vessels were ordered to lower their sails and stop when passing off the coast at Kaminokuni and Shiriuchi.

EA [226]

the old and feeble behind, went to the beaches and, together with the warriors and merchants, devoted themselves to fishing." The samurai with their families engaged in herring fishing for years after that.

[11] *SHS* **2**: 57–58.

439 556 [583] in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use 423 226 [685] of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. [224 685] In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

423 229 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

> There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 [195] While it may seem that the above divisions were the result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over [671] their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 628 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in 423 226 [224] Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.
[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.
[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.
[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 284.

622 major chiefs in Karafuto.[43] The "Group of Five" mentioned in the *Kankoku Roku* [Record of a Journey] who received privileges above other chiefs were probably these major chiefs.

Chief Tobitake of Shikotsu, who is said to have had two hundred retainers,[44] and Chief Shikunofu of Nosshappu,[45] who commanded several hundred people, were undoubtedly supreme chiefs. Shagushain of Shibuchari, Onibishi of Saru, Haukase of Ishikari, and Ikotoi of Akkeshi who are known historically were not only chiefs of villages but major chiefs controlling several villages in a district. Some of these men may have acquired their positions by force but the majority of them came [628] to power because of their lineage. But since cooperation among villages was rare, the major chiefs, aside from leading joint worship and settling intervillage disputes, actually had power over only their own particular home village. The village was the basis of 621 Ainu life. The chief was the central figure of the village and his duties were grave and serious ones. 622 Besides presiding over death and marriage ceremonies he had an important voice in settling disputes, in the punishment of violaters of the law, and he preserved order in the village. As director of the hunting and fishing and supervisor of the communal property, he was the guarantor of the economic security of the village.[46] As representative of the village he conducted extra-village affairs, was the commander in battle and the agent representing the village in trade negotiations. A village chief, required, in addition to a noble lineage, the qualities of intelligence and courage. He had to have a thorough knowledge of the legends of the village, cleverness in negotiation, eloquence of speech, wealth, and the character to enable him to carry out his duties. Being a chief would not have been difficult had the task been confined to ruling over a simple and isolated communal society, but as the Ainu village system became more complex and as contact and negotiation with the outside world became more frequent the simple attribute of respected descent was not sufficient to enable a man [554] to rule and it became necessary that men with ability become chief. This change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:* "The family of the *Otona* was hereditary. However, the chief was selected from that family according to ability regardless of whether or not he was an illegitimate child." When an heir was considered to be deficient in the abilities needed by a chief a council of elders chose another man from a group of kinsfolk who had ability. In such cases the original heir retained the right to preside over religious ceremonies.

592 As time passed the Ainu village lost its communal aspect and the major economic unit became the family with the father as head. This family unit consisted of

[43] Aoyama Kisaro, *Kyokuhoku no Bessekai* (The new world of the Far North), 26 ff.
[44] *Ezo Dan Hikki.*
[45] *SHS* 2: 303.
[46] *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 5.

power of the village was insufficient to cope with the problem. This is discussed in *Eso Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor. Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life. Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

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at Akkeshi in 1624 while on the west coast during the same year Japanese merchant ships could be found at Sōya.[6] Before the revolt of 1669 the number of ships that visited Ezo, including the eastern and western coasts, was fifty-five,[7] and the average number of ships per year for both eastern and western coasts is set at thirty-five to thirty-six.[8] The *Shotoku Gonen Matsumae Shima no Kami Mōshiage* [*SGM*] [A Report by the Lord Matsumae in the Year 1715] says that in the days of Kimihiro a vessel was sent to Karafuto, a practice later stopped.[9] The advance of the Japanese meant a retreat for the power of the Ainu. These people who had once gone over to Akita or Tsugaru to trade, bringing with them their own products or goods obtained from trading with other peoples, were now confined to a small area for trading. In the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* [History of the Unification of Tsugaru], vol. 10, it is noted that in 1670 a spy from the Tsugaru clan who had been sent to Ezo to investigate rumors of a rebellion there had in the previous year gone to the western coast of Ezo and talked to the natives. He reported that the Ainu made comments such as: "Our ancestors used to go to the Takaoka castle site of the Tsugaru clan to trade" and because of the ill treatment from the Matsumae, "Should we appeal to the Lord of Takaoka or should we go secretly to Takaoka and trade again?"—comments which indicate that the Ezo of this region were used to travel to and from the Tsugaru region. Since from the point of view of the Japanese the trade had political significance (under the name of tribute) the Matsumae clan came to monopolize the trade. That just prior to the time the Matsumae became an independent clan many Ainu traded with them is shown by the *Shiragi no Kiroku* [Genealogy of the Matsumae Family] entry of 1590,

> Enactment of Regulations for the Conduct of Barbarian Merchant Vessels . . . barbarian merchant vessels coming from the west must lower their sails off the coast of Amano Kawa, heave to, and after showing their respect proceed

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vessels. Only one or two merchant vessels came from southern Tsugaru but since there were only a few fishermen's houses the crew, having no sailors' inns to go to would sleep at the houses of the retainers and as soon as their business was over would sail away. Later, as the land came under the control of the Matsumae, the number of ships and houses increased." *Ezo Koku Shiki*.

[6] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 125.

[7] *Ibid.*, 168.

[8] "Numbers and sizes of vessels. No restrictions for navigation placed on either Japanese or barbarian ships. Number of vessels as follows; Each year merchant vessels to Kaminokuni number 35–36 and those to Shimanokuni also number 35–36." *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10.

[9] "At the time of great-grandfather Shima no Kami (Kimihiro who succeeded to the estate in 1608 and died in 1641) a vessel was sent to Karafuto but this was later discontinued" (Report from the Lord of Matsumae in 1715). "At the time of the late lord a boat was sent from a place called Sannai in Sōya to Utsushamu in Karafuto but unable to proceed farther returned. Another vessel was sent the following year." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

on their voyage, while barbarian merchant vessels coming from the east must lower their sails off the coast of Shiriuchi, heave to and after showing respect may proceed.

In June of 1615 forty to fifty vessels arrived at Matsumae from Menashi with cargos of sea-otter skins. As the Japanese came more and more to Ezo to trade and as the Ainu were prohibited from coming to Matsumae, the protection of the interests of the feudatories was assured by moving the trade center inland, and the commerce which had formerly been carried on at these distant centers between the Ainu and other northern peoples was slowly taken over by the Japanese, while Matsumae, Hakodate, and Esashi became secondary trade centers. The Matsumae increased their power by using these new trade centers as the base of their activities. The power of the Matsumae began to flourish with the suppression of the Ainu in the Watarishima peninsula. It increased as they monopolized the Ainu trade and as they gained the right to collect taxes from merchant vessels. When, in 1516, Kakizaki Yoshihiro received control of Hokkaidō from the Andō clan, he also received the right to impose taxes in the form of an annual stipend on merchant vessels and on travelers from other countries. This was certified in January of 1593 by a red seal edict of Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued at Nagoya in Hizen, "Taxes on vessels may be imposed as this has long been the practice." Broader powers as follows were granted in 1604 by a black seal edict of Tokugawa Ieyasu:

1. It will be unlawful for those who come to Matsumae to trade with the Ezo without the permission of the Lord of the Island.
2. Those who do engage in trade without the permission of the Lord of the Island are to be reported at once.

The Lord of Matsumae not only enjoyed the power of taxing vessels and travelers but he also monopolized the Ezo trade and this latter item was the economic foundation of his clan. Other financial props of the Matsumae clan were:

1. Taxes imposed on residents in their territories.
2. *"Okiguchi Yakusen"* [entrance and clearance duties levied on ships and travelers from other areas].
3. Taxes imposed on the gold mines of Ezo.
4. Proceeds from the sale of hawks.

A record from 1669 in vol. 10 of the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* demonstrates the basic importance to the clan of the Ezo trade:

Account of the Matsumae Treasury

From the profits of the clan fleet of 8–9 vessels	1000–2000 ryō
From the sale of hawks	1000–2000 ryō
From taxes levied on farms, foreign vessels and travelers	in excess of 600 ryō

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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Unable to bear this, the Ezo appealed to Matsumae himself, but their appeals were not heeded and they were punished for breaking the law. Again Maki Tadaemon:

> As the situation grew worse Kekushike, a chief of the Yoichi, although past seventy years of age, went to Matsumae to see the Lord and to appeal. However, he was badly treated and visited with all sorts of punishments for coming to a place forbidden to him and he was barely able to return to the Ezo. He was furious and determined to rally the natives for a war but some of his friends opposed his plans and he finally relinquished them.[22]

Now at first the Japanese had engaged only in trade and the vessels sent to the various *Basho* by the feudal lords had been limited to one ship per *Basho* during the summer trading season. But as the trade increased it became possible to receive from the clan chief additional permits under the excuse of establishing new fishing industries for mackerel, trout, or sea cucumber and the payment for these permits enabled two to three boats to make the trading visit,[23] or when there was great profit in hawks many hawk hunters were sent.[24] When, in 1631, gold was discovered in Ezo, alluvial mining was permitted for a fee and numerous miners crossed over to the island, and by 1635 mining had spread as far as Hidaka and Tokachi.[25] Thus, the number of Japanese in Ezo increased and so did the length of their stay. It was under such conditions that the conduct of the Japanese became unbearable and, since these Japanese were not strictly regulated, much ill feeling appeared on the part of the natives some of whom wanted to take advantage of the situation to regain their independence. The Matsumae did not police the Japanese and they now permitted anyone to go into Ezo territory as long as there was no infringement of monopoly or existing industries and as long as they paid their taxes and fees.[26] About the only enforced prohibition was the one forbidding the transfer of any weapons to the natives.[27]

Discontent with this system was the reason for rebellion of Chief Henauke of Setanai in 1644 and for the general rebellion of 1669 participated in by all the Ezo from Shiraoi to Shiranuka on the east coast and

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[22] *Ibid.*, 173.

[23] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 126.

[24] *Ibid.*, 141–142.

[25] *Ibid.*, 148–151.

[26] According to the *Kirishitan Senketsu Isso* (Testimony of Christian martyrs), the reason why "Karuburiyo" [Fr. Carvalho] was able to enter Matsumae territory and engage in missionary work was that he had received a permit as a gold miner. (Written by Matsuzaki Minoru), 309.

[27] During the fifth generation of Izunokami (Yoshihiro) among the goods taken to Ezo for trade was armor. However, this was prohibited during the period of Shimanokami (Kimihiro). *Ezo Dan Hikki*, "Iron goods were strictly regulated by the Matsumae in the Ezo trade. Knives with steel blades were strictly forbidden." *Tōyū Zakki* in *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Sōsho*, No. 12: 160.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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The General Divisions of Hokkaido prior to 1869.
MAP 4

AF *175 *648 ● 628

from Utasutu to Masuke on the west coast. The direct cause of the revolt of 1669 was a dispute over the fish and game grounds along the Niikappu River between the Ezo of Shibuchari River and those in the region of the Saru River. When the Matsumae refused to do anything about the dispute, aside from sending a delegate to mediate, the Saru River natives became deeply disaffected because they had depended on the Matsumae to solve the difficulty while, on the other hand, the Shibuchari natives despised Matsumae for his supineness in the matter. In 1668 Onibishi, chief of Saru, was killed by Shakushain, chief of Shibuchari, the great Ezo revolt for independence started, and in the following year they massacred the merchants and raided their vessels as well as the ships of the hawk masters. At the same time messages were sent all over the island and the remainder of the discontented Ezo joined the revolt and the massacres. In eastern Ezo eleven boats were attacked and 120 people (including 2 samurai) killed; in western Ezo 8 vessels were attacked and 153 people (including 2 samurai and 3 hawk masters) were killed —a total of 19 vessels and 273 persons. This incident was a shock to the Japanese on the mainland. However, the rebellion sprang from a poorly organized people who had only poison arrows as weapons while the troops sent against them had firearms. In addition, many Ezo were faced with economic difficulty because of the forced cessation of the trade. In 1669 chief Shakushain was killed and his main force defeated after which punitive expeditions were sent against the other tribes. The Matsumae, sending troops to Yoichi (1670), Shiraoi (1671), and Kunnui (1672), made the Ezo render compensation and sign the following pledge:

AF *175 669 *648 728

1. All orders from the Lord, regardless of their nature, will be observed by us, our offspring, and *Utare* (kinsfolk) regardless of sex.

A [411]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

meet at the appointed place on a given day, the younger folk also being allowed to be present. The disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through their selected representatives, lasting for days on end sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question as to which side had won would be decided by the vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differences were settled in this way, though the tribal quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed. This plan suited the people well and they abode faithfully by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

It should be understood that the Ainu settlements were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near the river banks in any district would lay claim to these as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal hunting domains, thus making certain territories their own private property, in which none but the owners had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. When these could not be easily settled between the villages where the poaching had taken place, the people were called together and the matter was openly considered and adjusted. In the special instances I have now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name, which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man, for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161 In considering the causes of this decrease, there
● 628 are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.

177 Then, there are now two and a half millions of
161 Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so
[562] suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is
161 too much blood-relationship among them, through in-
[582] termarriage between people of their own village or district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good
[165 deal of child mortality among them, and many of the
842] women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire. The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese themselves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing
[144 number now of half-breeds, and among those called
162]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXIII

STORIES OF LOVE, VENGEANCE AND WAR

The following touching story of love and vengeance was told by an Ainu who lived at Tsuishkari, near Sapporo, some years ago. He was born in Saghalien and returned there to die. The tale shall speak for itself, so what follows is a simple translation of it. 539 628

"In very olden times the place called 'The Broads' had a large population, but as time went on the people gradually died off, till there was but one family with a few relations left alive. It was a very bad, pathetic state of affairs. So few were they that this remnant lived together in one large house and had room to spare. The head of the family was a very beautiful woman named La Belle.

"Now, a well-to-do man who lived at The Hollows came to see La Belle, and was so struck with her incomparable beauty that he at once conceived an ardent desire to marry her, but she would have none of him. So he finally returned to his home in anger, very much disheartened. Alas and alas, the people living with La Belle still continued to die off one after another, and it looked as though they would soon become quite extinct. And they were feeling lonely and depressed. They thought it would be better for them if they were to leave their native place to go and dwell elsewhere.

"Having decided to migrate, they descended to the seashore and all sailed away and came to a place called Hill Bottom, where they landed and built a house to live in. After a little time had elapsed the men said to one another, 'We are becoming extinct rapidly. Let

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 us go on to the Ainu villages yonder and take wives to
628 ourselves. We can then raise up children, and later on return to The Broads and rebuild our village.' So spake they. But La Belle, who was the head of the family and who had formerly refused to marry the suitor from that place, could not be persuaded to agree. She met the men in argument and prevailed over them. She was so eloquent. They therefore went off to a place called Big River, and there set up another house. They also built a fine large storehouse which they filled with excellent salmon, well smoked. Thus did they make abundant provision for the coming winter.

"Now, the man called Archer of The Hollows—the man who wished to wed La Belle,—had returned to his village full of wrath and overcharged with a desire for revenge. Here he abode with a darkened brow and with a heart full of ire, plotting vengeance. During the following winter there was a great deal of snow and the weather was exceedingly boisterous. During all this windy, rough weather, La Belle and her company were imprisoned in their pit-dwelling, covered in and unable to get out. While they lived thus in fancied security, the man Archer went down with an axe and cut the supports of the storehouse, so that it fell to the ground. After he had made a complete wreck of it, he returned to his home and waited.

"The wind continued to blow and howl worse than ever after this, and a mighty blizzard came up. It was absolutely impossible for the men to get out of their dwellings to go down to the store for food. By and by they had eaten up all the food they had taken with them into the house, and had become very hungry. At last, however, the storm abated and they managed to dig themselves out to go to their food store. When they got there they were much surprised and deeply grieved to find that the pillars of the storehouse had been cut in two, and the building had fallen down. The

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

fish which they had so carefully stored away had been eaten up by the foxes and pine-martens. They could find but a very few remnants, which they carefully gathered up and carried back with them.

"Though they ate of it very sparingly, it lasted but a short time. By the time spring began to come, there was no food left for them to eat and they were very hungry. They all sat there in their dwelling in a state of woe, knowing that they were doomed to starve to death. So they—men, women and children—arranged themselves in order, dressed in their best garments, and decorated themselves with beads and other ornaments as though they were corpses prepared for burial. This done, they all lay down together. And so all died.

"After this, the man Archer, the would-be husband of La Belle, whom she refused to have, was ordered by his elder brother to go on a visit to Big River. On reaching this place, he found that all the people had gone to their summer—above-ground—dwelling and had there died of starvation. He then returned to his home and reported what he had seen. When the people of the other branch of La Belle's family heard about it, the men set off bear-hunting in that direction. Upon reaching the house, they saw that it had two separate hearths in it, but the beams were fallen down and scattered one over the other on the ground. And a little way off on the scrubland they found the great cooking pots lying on the ground.*

"By all this, then, we see how bad it was in those olden times for the men to be over-persuaded by the discourse of a woman. These things have the ancient ones reported for the instruction of their children."

*Ainu graves were formerly made in the forest, not far away from the dwellings. At the time of burial, pots, pans and other articles were laid on them for the dead to use in the future world.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

In the year 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun) 776
he sent an army against the Lord of Matsumai, but finally sued for peace, which was granted without fine. [175]

The following is an interesting legend I have frequently heard in Saru. It is called "Pon-ya-un-be," which I believe means "The little man of the mountains." The legend shows him fighting with one called Samatuye Ainu, which I believe is a word meaning "Seashore man," though the legend itself gives a different derivation.

"We three, my younger sister, my elder brother 539
and I were brought up together. One night I found 628
myself quite unable to sleep; but whether what I now relate was seen in a dream, or whether it really took place, I cannot say.

"At the source of our river, and on the tops of the mountains there, I saw a great herd of bucks feeding by themselves. At the head of the herd there was a very large buck with speckled horns. There was also a herd of does by themselves, at the head of which there was a speckled one prancing about in front of her fellows. So I sat up in my bed, buckled on my belt which I had wound round my body, and tied my hat strings under my chin. I then fastened on my leggings, which were made of grass, slipped on my best boots, stuck my favourite sword in my girdle, took my quiver-sling in my hand, seized my bow, which was made of yew and ornamented with cherry bark at the middle, and sallied forth.

"The dust upon the road by the riverside was flying about. I was taken up by the wind and it was as though I rode along upon the clouds. My elder brother and younger sister followed along behind me. In truth, as we went along we saw that the mountains were covered with great herds of bucks and does. The bucks had a speckled male at their head; its horns even were speckled. There was also a speckled doe at the head of the females.

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539 628 "On coming near them, I took an arrow out of my quiver and shot into the very midst of the herd, where they stood thick; and it was not very long before the mountains became covered with a multitude of those which had tasted poison. There they lay dead. My elder brother also shot into the midst of the does and killed so many that the mountains were covered with their carcases. Within a very short time both herds, bucks and does, were all slain.

"But see! How it happened I cannot tell. Those beings which had shown themselves as deer came to be men.*

"The leader of the enemy spake to me in anger and said, 'Because you are a brave man of the mountains (*Pon-ya-un-be*) and your fame has spread to many lands, you have come hither to make war upon us. You see around you how you have slain many of my people, and you doubtless think to defeat me; but however brave you may be, I think you will find that you have made a mistake.' (This is the challenge).

"When he had thus said, he drew his sword in a lordly way (lit. '*in a high-nosed way*'), and like a flash struck at me with a mighty stroke. In return I also flashed out my sword and attacked him. But when I hit at him, there was no corresponding crashing sound, strike as mightily as I would. It was extremely difficult to come upon him. It was as though the wind caught the point of my sword. But though this was the case, although it was so difficult to come at him, yet I wrought very hard and was so intent that I did not realize that I had been struck and that much blood was spurting from my body. That abominable, bad man was also bleeding profusely.

[825] *The Ainu with whom I first came into contact firmly believed that in olden times their ancestors could assume the form of animals when they chose, and then change back into their normal condition at will. The deer spoken of in this legend were tribal enemies who had come to fight.

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"And so the battle went on. By and by I perceived that my elder brother and younger sister had met the women who had been speckled does, and had attacked them most vehemently. With great force they struck with their swords. As I was looking, I saw my brother cut in twain. As he fell, he put his hands out towards the earth and raised himself up again. I then went with my sword and struck him twice or thrice, upon which he became a living man again.*

"Then, riding upon a noise like thunder, he went up quickly into the skies and continued to fight there. I now heard the sound of some other person being slain near by. It was my younger sister who was killed. With a mighty sound she rode up to the setting sun.**

"Then that beastly enemy woman boasted of having slain my younger sister and thrown her to the ground. Then the two, the woman and the remaining man, fell upon me with might and main, but I struck the fiendish woman several times and made her ride upon the sun. She went up to the sun a living spirit. Then the malignant, evil man, being alone alive before me, lifted up his voice and said to me,

"'Because you are a brave man, the fame of your valour has gone to many lands. Now know this, I am called *Samatuye Ainu* (this, the reciter told me, means 'Cutter in twain,' but I believe it is really 'sea-side man'). My younger brother and sister live together and are the defenders of my house. They are exceedingly brave and able people, both of them. If, there-

*My friend told me that when at war in ancient times his ancestors could raise the slain to life again and heal all their wounds by striking them with the flat of their sword blades. Even fifty years ago, and since, I have known of this striking and waving swords over the sick by way of exorcism. In cases of death by accidents, as has already been set forth, the custom is still practised in order to drive away demons.

**Death was sometimes called by the old Ainu "riding upon" or "into the setting sun." Life was called "riding upon" or "into the bright sun," or "shining like the sun."

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fore, I am killed by you, my young brother will come and avenge my death, and then you will live no longer. So be careful."

"I then made a slash at the evil creature; he returned the blow and I swooned. Whether the swoon lasted for a long time or a short one, I am unable to to say. But when I opened my eyes I found my right hand stretched out above me striking hither and thither, vehemently, with the sword. With my left hand I had laid hold on the grass and was tearing it up by the roots. Any way, when I came to myself, I found myself wondering who Samatuye could be and why he was so called. I thought that name was given to frighten me, perhaps. But, I said to myself, 'I must certainly go off and pay him a visit at his own home, for unless I do so I shall be laughed at when I return to my village, and feel humiliated.' I therefore searched about till I found the track by which this great army had come. I got on the path and passed through many villages, great and small. For three days and three nights, six in all, did I travel along till I arrived at the seashore.*

"Here I saw a very high mountain whose summit reached to the skies and on the top of which there stood a most beautiful house. It was encircled above with a great cloud as of fog. I came down from above and landed near it. Then, walking carefully and without noise, I came to the door, where I stood peeping in and listening. I saw something which looked like a little man sitting cross-legged at the head of the fireplace, staring into the embers; and there was also what appeared to me to be a very little woman sitting on the left hand side of the hearth. The beauty of this little woman equalled that of my younger sister. Now the man spoke, saying,

*Six being the perfect number in Ainu, "six days in all" means "for a very long time."

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"'Oh, my dear sister, listen to me, for I have something to say. The weather is lowering and I am filled with foreboding. You, as you know, have been a shaman from childhood. Prophesy now to me, for I desire to hear news.' So spake he.

"Then the tiny woman yawned mightily twice, and said,* 'Oh, my elder brother, my dear brother, listen now to me, for I have a thing of importance to say. Why are you thus in anticipation of evil coming? I hear from a far-away country. There is news coming from above the mountains of Battle River. The brave Ainu has been attacked by my elder brother without cause. A certain man has slain my elder brother and annihilated his men. The battle has proceeded with vigour. A speckled bird comes flying across the sky from the interior. I wish to speak about it, but somehow it passes by and I see it no more. Oh, it is now crossing the sea! It darts along upon the surface of the water like a little fish. It is lovely. It comes straight towards our home. I hear the clashing of swords. They are the swords of the Ainu and their enemies. The battle rages. Blood spurts from big wounds. The sword of my brother departs into the setting sun and is lost. The sword-hilt of the Ainu shines upon the sun. He has conquered the foe. Our home has been hitherto in peace, but is now in the greatest of danger. My eyes are now becoming dark. Pay attention to what I have said.' So spake the little woman.

"Now, as she said this I pretended that I had but just arrived at their house, and, knocking the dirt off my boots upon the hard soil outside, I lifted the door-screen over my shoulders and stepped over the threshold. With one accord they both turned their heads and gazed at me. I saw fear settled under their eye-

*This means that she threw herself into a shaman's trance.

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539 brows. Walking along the left-hand side of the hearth
628 with hasty strides, I swept the little man to the right with my foot, and sat down cross-legged in the master's place. I then said,

"'Look here, you little man of Samatuye, I have a word to say to you, so attend to me well. Has not your elder brother come and attacked us without just cause? Why has he done so? As you have thus stirred up war, you will be annihilated, for the gods will punish you. Listen well to that. It is true that I am but a wounded man, but I will certainly overthrow your abode.'

"When I had said this, I drew my sword and flashed it about. I struck at him with heavy blows and made the wind whistle. We went up to the ceiling fighting, where I chased him from one end of the house to the other. Whilst this was going on, a very great multitude of men congregated about the place. They came as thick as swarms of flies. But I cut them down as men mow grass.

"Presently the little woman said, 'Oh my brothers, why did ye attack the brave Ainu without cause? Was it because ye wished to die that ye fell upon them? Henceforth I shall cast in my lot with the brave Ainu. Mark my words.' Saying this she drew a dagger from her bosom and cut down the men at the door like grass. We fought side by side. So fighting we drove them all out of the house. Upon taking a view of the people outside, I saw that there were but a very few left alive. At the head of this remnant stood the little Samatuye man. Yes! There he was. In a very short time all his people were killed. I then went for him in haste and struck at him with heavy blows. The Samatuye woman came to my side and attacked him with her dagger. He soon received some great wounds and was slain.

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"The little woman wept much and said, 'As for me, I am undone. I did not desire to draw my dagger against a friendless man. But I was constrained to do so. As the little hawks flock together where there is food, so have I an earnest desire to be with thee, O brave Ainu. Listen well.' "

So ends the legend. It began with a war and ends in a marriage. No doubt they lived happily ever after.

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nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan (or utaru) spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details

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group whether obtained by adoption or by birth. In either of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys all the local groups formed a single *shine itokpa* group. But the local groups who lived in the Tokapchi valley were divided into several *shine itokpa* groups: the one in the upstream area consisted of seven local groups of Kuttarashi, Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi, Sanenkoro, Moseushi and Penke Pipaushi, another group on the middle course consisted possibly of five local groups of Kene, Memroputu, Pipairu, Fushikō and Shupusara, and perhaps one or two more *shine itokpa* groups further downstream which could not be identified.

The group had neither single authority nor common territory. The only collective action of the *shine itokpa* group, so far as identified by the present writer, was the bear ceremony (pp. 74-77). It provided the only occasion for meeting many of their relatives and friends who resided outside the local group. In normal times no group larger than the local group took part in any collective enterprise, though on rare occasions two related families from different local groups within a *shine itokpa* group might and actually did privately join to cooperate in hunting or fishing. Formal relations between local groups were rarely established, but through intermarriage (p. 17) there might have been many individual contacts between kin and affines in different local groups.

The River Group.

The river group is an aggregation of all the local groups which lived along a river as distinguished by the Ainu[19]. It was called by the name of the river plus *un utaru*, the people in such and such a river. The river group might consist of a single *shine itokpa* group as in each of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys or consist of several *shine itokpa* groups as in the Tokapchi valley. They regarded the river basin as their own territory, claiming exclusive rights to exploit all its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders (pp. 56-57; 67-68; 77-78). Hence they were also called *shine iworo ukokoru utaru*, the people jointly possessing one and the same *iworu* of the river valley as distinguished by the Ainu. However, at least in normal times, there was no single authority controlling the group as a whole. The main bond which linked the people of a river together not only seems to have been economic interests but a deeply rooted cosmological background. There is evidence that each river as distinguished by the Ainu was associated with one or several particular *ekashi itokpa*. It was the *shine itokpa* group which had one of these aboriginal *itokpa*. Only the people having the aboriginal *itokpa* associated with the river, observing the associated ritual for local deities and living in the river valley, were regarded as the real people of the river who were entitled to be guardians of the river valley and of the deities that were believed to live there and look after them (pp. 70-71; 77-78).

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423 the same group enjoyed a successive use of the same site within which no outsider could bring in specific instruments or exploit specific resources.
423 They were to 'refrain' from such acts. Spawning grounds of the dog salmon
619 were not available even to fellow river-group-members except on permission
[628] formally obtained from the headman of the controlling local group. Such permission could be had whenever asked by anyone in the same river group (p. 77).

Except for such specified localities, the entire area within the river group territory might be utilized freely by any member belonging to the group. In this open area any person, male or female, could freely open up a new ground for set-bow hunting or trap-fishing, go hunting with hand-bow, or go about collecting plants. It appears that even the aforesaid specific localities were open to anyone in the same river group when it was not season assigned for a particular locality.

[311] Despite the presence of the aforesaid free-gathering areas within the river group territory, the Ainu usually were able to obtain most of their necessary supplies from the immediate surroundings of each settlement without having to go out great distances for the gathering (Maps 2).

226 Areas Actually Covered by Ainu Gatherers (Map 2).

311 Fishing Areas.

628 Generally, the dog salmon was taken for the most part in and around the spawning grounds found near the settlement. Favourable sites for the use of fixed fishing gear and hidings of the salmon suited for daytime spearing, were all found centred around the concentrations of the spawning beds or spawning grounds which best fitted night spearing (Figs. 3 and 4). Some fishermen from each settlement went farther down their stream in early season; as the season advanced they turned upstream and then went down again in late season, for the farther downstream, the earlier the arrival of the salmon and the longer its stay and the farther upstream, the earlier the spawning (Note 26). Thus some of Otopuke and Azuma fishermen went into the area of the next settlement or even farther within the territory of their river group; but the fishermen on the upper Tokapchi seldom went to the area close on an adjacent settlement. The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements in Otopuke, who had relatively few and sporadic spawning beds near their settlements, went to the spawning grounds regularly exploited by the neighbouring Kamaune settlement belonging to their local group and by permission went farther down to the spawning ground of the Nipushipet settlement which belonged to another local group. By the same reason the people of Azuma, a settlement and a local group belonging to the Azuma river group, went fishing dog-salmon up in the water area near the adjacent

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settlement, Tonika, another local group upstream. The people of Moseushi, a local group on the Shikaripet tributary to the Tokapchi, fished dog salmon in and around their own spawning grounds; however, as their catch there was not sufficient for all their need, some of the younger members used to go fishing in the main stream of the Tokapchi near Nitmap. Some of the young members of Moseushi local group, like Retapka and Takanru, children of Ranketuk of Moseushi, and Tunurawe, son of Kanuran, "had so many brothers that they could not get enough fish for them all in the Shikaripet but had to go fishing in the main Tokapchi as well." Every season they built temporary huts on the bank opposite the Nitmap settlement and engaged freely in spearing and basket-trap fishing in and around the small spawning grounds outside the named spawning grounds controlled by the Nitmap group. For cherry salmon fishing in the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, the area covered by the settlement members fell in roughly with that for the dog salmon. Most members of each settlement did not usually go so far as to the area near the neighbouring settlement. Some bag-net parties from the Tonika settlement of the Azuma river group used to go down for cherry salmon fishing to the area a little beyond the next settlement, Azuma *kotan*. Cherry salmon fishing in smaller tributaries or glens, however, was not confined to around each settlement. For instance, such local groups on the upper Tokapchi as Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi and Sanenkoro, fished for cherry salmon centring on the glens of the Sahorun, one of the smaller tributaries of the Tokapchi; the four settlement groups belonging to the upper local group of Moseushi on the Shikaripet, fished for them in the glens around the Sarunnai, a small tributary to the Shikaripet.

Hunting Areas.

For deer hunting, fences set with spring bows were usually erected at the foot of hillsides near their own settlement, though some families such as the groups B and C of Nitmap (p. 45 on the upper Tokapchi built their fences farther away than the others and the hunters migrated every season to their huts erected near the constructions (p. 32; May 2). The ground for deer hunting with the spring bow near the game's wintering quarters, usually lay on the upper reaches of some tributary near their settlement. Both fences and hunting grounds near the wintering quarters of the game for each settlement group in Tokapchi and Azuma and fences in Otopke were usually found distributed around their settlements, although the area covered by one settlement group sometimes overlapped to some extent with that of an adjacent settlement group: such an overlapping may be seen between Nitmap and Kuttaraushi groups, as shown on Map 2. There is another case like the Shikot river group, from the settlements of which hunting parties migrated each

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Collecting Areas.

222 311 314

Of plant resources needed by the Ainu some were usually unavailable from the surrounding area of each settlement: those were aconite plants for the preparation of arrow poison and Ulmus laciniata for textile material. For the purpose of collecting aconite roots, members of the Otopuke river group went out to the Shikata valley near the coast in the territory of the Tokapchi river group. The valley and its environ near the coast of the Tokapchi territory appear to have been the main source of the plants for the Ainu on the whole river system of the Tokapchi. Those of the Azuma river group went out for that purpose as far as to Zenibako in southwestern Hokkaido, an srea[1] which it is doubtful if any group claimed for its own. The Ainu of the Saru river in the days of their traditional life are said to have collected the plant from a site near Piraturu on their own river. In Otopuke and Azuma, the bark of Ulmus laciniata was collected mainly in the source areas of each river where good quality plants were plentiful. Practice among the Shikot Ainu in later times suggests that their traditional centre for collecting the bark was on the uppermost reaches of the river, i.e. in the area surrounded by Mts. Eniwa and Bibui. In the case of the Takapchi, a river much larger than those mentioned above, its upper reaches and the surrounding areas were visited by collectors of the bark from local groups on the upper course of the river: members of the Kuttaraushi group mostly went to the interior of the Sahorun or Nikoro, those of the Nitmap and Sanenkoro groups mostly to the source areas of the Sorapchi, an extention of the Tokapchi river group territory on the side of the Ishikari, some members of the Nitmap group farther up to the Tonukariushpet area, and the people of the Memro and Kene groups usually to the interior of the Pise or Sorapchi. But there is no evidence to show that local groups other than those mentioned above, i.e. local groups on its middle or lower course, came up to the area for that purpose. The Fushiko group, one of those local groups, seems to have gone out for the bark to the interior of the Satnai.

All other plants were usually gathered by most river groups around their own settlements. The Shikot group seems an exception. All their settlement or local groups had the traditional way of collecting the *pukusa*, Allium Victoralis, and other edible plants of good quality as well as the bark of Ulmus on the riverhead of their river Shikot, and the *shikina*, Typha latifolia, for matting, on the marshy grounds lying farthest downstream.

In the course of collecting such plants, it was not infrequent for members from different settlement or local groups living adjacent on the same river to come across one another on the same field. On such occasions they exchanged information as to where the plants in search grew in plenty or arranged elimination of overlapping in the sites visited. [628]

1. [Errata: the word "srea" should read "area". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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619 Actions for the Maintainance of the River Group Territory.

628 All Ainu territories were defended and protected for the natural resources
423 found therein. Protection of a river group territory and guarding it from trespasses, as will be seen later, comprised the following practice: reporting by any one of his or her passing or coming to a gathering site to the nearest settlement; keeping watch by each local group member over any outsider, questioning him or her about suspicious conduct and reporting it to the headman; and checking by the headman of all information brought in by his group members and keeping contact by him with other headmen in the same river area. The seheme thus functioned with cooperation of the local group members and a cooperation between headmen in the same valley. It must be noted, however, that these actions for defending the river group territory against trespasses were no specialized occupation of specific personnel but were merely side work performed by each Ainu while engaging in regular manual work. As a result, the extent of effective vigilance seems to have been confined to the area covered habitually in daily routine. It may be assumed therefore that in large but sparsely populated river valleys like the Tokapchi, especially in the mountainous regions, scattered areas occured which were seldom or rarely visited by any Ainu at ordinary times, areas belonging to a river group but left unwatched and unprotected against trespassing.

619 The activities of a river group in defence of their river basin were inte-
224 grated into the following customs. Every Ainu, before going on a hunt, ob-
628 served a joint ritual with fellow hunters at the headman's, to whom he made
423 known his general plans and his intended sites for setting spring bows in particular, making at the same time necessary arrangements with other hunters. If the man was going for hand-bow hunting into a mountain on his river course unfamiliar to him or not habitually covered by his fellow members, the custom was for him to call on the headman whose people knew the area well, obtained information about it and the distribution of spring-bow sites in particular, and made his plans known to him. It was also the custom for any one, when hunting in an area in the same valley covered by members of another local group, to make a salutary report to some one of the group concerned, if not to the headman. It was done by way of report or notice rather than for asking formal permission from the headman. If the hunter wished to set spring bows, he should never fail to give detailed information to the headman and get his full understanding beforehand. As regards fish-
619 ing in the open area within his river group territory, it was customary for
628 every fisherman going to a site habitually covered or exploited by another
423 group to report to the settlement of that group either on his way there or
[226] back. Otherwise, it might cause the people of the settlement to be 'troubled

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and even alarmed that some stranger, that is, some member of another river group, was venturing trespass'. These procedures, instead of being formulae for asking permission, were to all appearances necessary precautions against possible intrusion from outsiders, i.e. members of other river groups. The headman was kept well informed of every development by his group members and was also in mutual contact with the headmen of neighbouring local groups of his valley. In this manner he was enabled to keep checking who were fishing or hunting in the area habitually covered by his members, where and by whom poison-arrows were being set, and whether or not rituals requisite for exploiting the given resources were conducted properly.

As has been described in this chapter, Ainu territorial actions are part of their community activities indubitably correlated with and conditioned by certain physical factors in their habitat, while they are also a result of community reactions to habitat as viewed by the Ainu themselves, i.e. the subjective or non-physical aspect of habitat, as may be seen in the next chapter.

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231 Otopuke.

Rearing of a cub usually took nearly a year, from March or April till January or February next year, or in some cases two years, at the end of which period the animal was killed with ritual. A large quantity of feed was necessary which was practically the same kind as food for the Ainu themselves. Indeed, the amount consumed by an average cub in one day from the first autumn on, is said to have been equal to that for several grown-up Ainus. Surplus stores of salmon and wild nuts gathered in autumn went to this purpose, as well as wild vegetables collected during spring and summer.

796 614 The ritual killing of the cub, *kamui iomante*, sending off the bear-spirit, took place in January or at latest in February, before the spring bear hunting set in once again[46]. The ritual was observed as a collective enterprise of the whole *shine itokpa* group. This group represents the patrilineal grouping of the male members who formed the core sections of the neighbouring local groups in the same river valley (p. 15). As far as the present writer has examined, the ritual killing of the cub was the only peacetime collective activity participated in with regularity by the *shine itokpa* group as a whole. The observance of the so-called bear ceremony has been widely but very vaguely known as the greatest of Ainu peacetime collective actions, but little has been made known about its social aspect[47].

[628] Prior to the ceremony the headmen of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group held a meeting, *ukosanio*, at the house of one who by custom came first in order among them, to fix dates for the ceremonies at their respectve settlement. The ceremonies came in a customary order. To take an example from one of the *shine itokpa* groups in Tokapchi, it was customary for the local groups forming the member sections to observe their cub-killing rites in the order of Nitmap, Kuttarashi, Moseushi, Sanenkoro, Kumaushi, Pipaushi and Penkepipaushi. In the *shine itokpa* group in Otopuke, 796 621 which consisted of two local groups, the upper local group came first. In the local group on turn, each of the cubs kept by the headman and other families was killed with due rituals at the hands of its keeper, *hepere koru kuru*, and his family. Whether they were killed individually at the keeper's house, as was the case at Tokapchi and Otopuke, or collectively at the headman's where they were all brought together, as at Nukapira and Saru, the rituals were performed in a fixed order of households in each local group. First came the headman's. He had exercised a custodianship over all the cubs kept within the group. It was not until the initial killing had been performed by the headman on his own cub that other cubs in the same group were killed ritually by other keepers. The rule of the order for the latter is not known; however, in the local group at Nitmap the core of which consisted

1, [Errata: the word "respectve" should read "respective" --Analyst]

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231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine*
796 *itokpa* group[69].

796 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and
619 Habitat.
423 The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu* of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i.e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no [796] access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtainable from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but also by their cosmological system as such.

423 226 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another [628] local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group. [782] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made [431] by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby [431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

776 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or
[782] hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that [685] the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer [782] of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[70]. Also the discovery of such evidence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

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Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer, when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them.

43 Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954).

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group.

44 1. Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2).

2. Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

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of Ainu bear hunters, and even with those huntsmen the event has ceased to function socially as it did in the past. What has hitherto been described by various writers has been confined to its formal aspect, chief works dealing with which may be found in the bibliographies by HALLOWELL (1926) and INUKAI and NATORI (1939); more recently, minutely detailed reports have been published by INUKAI and NATORI (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939 and 1940; NATORI, 1941). For various reasons its social aspect has been virtually ignored in nearly all studies of the Ainu, and our knowledge of that aspect has remained little further than what was summarized by HOLLOWELL, as follows: "In every case it is evident that the affair is communal in nature. Not only friends and relatives in the village but sometimes individuals from other settlements as well are invited by the owner of the bear, who is also the host" (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 122). Only in a later report by INUKAI and NATORI (1940) on the formal aspect of the bear rite as it is observed today may one have fragmentary information regarding the subject—the relation between the rite and the participants. Here follows an excerpt from the above report referring to a bear festival which took place in the middle of December in 1939 at Suwan settlement in Kushiro, one of the older native *kotan* (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, pp. 96-135).

In the spring of 1939 a bear cub was caught by Kawasaki, an old Ainu from Kutcharo settlement who lodged at the settlement of Suwan. The cub was taken over by Old Ōno, a descendant of Hashibami, elder of the former Suwan *kotan*, and it was kept in a cage built by the sacred window of his ancestral dwelling. The ritual killing of the bear was performed at an old altar left by the late Hashibami, about 40 metres from the cage.

The ceremony was attended by members of the three other settlements on the river, Kutcharo (the uppermost settlement), Tohro and Harutori (the lowermost settlement). The attendants from Harutori were all females. On this occasion at least, for reasons not known, no invitation was sent to the settlement but the women came to join the ceremony. It is informed that the bear festivals at Suwan had been attended by members of about the same four *kotan*. The main participants were: old Ōno, who had brought up the cub; old Kawasaki, who caught it, old Isosato, who was descended from a headman of the former Kutcharo; Tosa, an old member of Tohro; Yamanaka and Teshi, old members of Kutcharo. The main part of the bear ceremony consisted of a series of rituals, not only to the bear itself but also to other associated *kamui* groups. The essential element of the rituals is the offering of prayers and *inau*-sticks to the respective *kamui*. The performance of the rituals was allotted to the male participants who came from the aforementioned settlements, the important parts being taken by the elders whose names were previously mentioned. Now old Ōno was the adopted into his